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THE CEREMONIAL SOCIETIES OF THE QUILEUTE INDIANS¹

BY LEO J. FRACHTENBERG

INTRODUCTORY

PROBABLY the most important (and complicated) feature in the social life of the tribes of the North Pacific coast, in addition to the potlatch, are the winter ceremonials (ritual dances, secret societies) which have thus far been observed to exist among the Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, Bella-Coola, Kwakiutl, Nootka, Comox, Pentlatch, Sanitch, Lkuñgen, Clallam, and Quileute Indians. These ceremonials consist of a series of dances, held during the winter months, and rendered at the initiation ceremonies of novitiates into the secret societies which are the owners and keepers of these dances. They have attained their fullest development among the Kwakiutl Indians, undoubtedly because of the intricate totemic organization of this tribe. Whether these ceremonials originated with the Kwakiutl Indians and were spread by them among the other neighboring tribes, is a question which will, perhaps, never be solved. As was pointed out by Boas,² all ceremonials were in the main derived from one source, namely from the Kwakiutl Indians. But,

it does not necessarily follow that no secret societies existed [among the other tribes] before the Kwakiutl exerted their influence over the people of the [North Pacific] coast.

However, the fact remains that wherever these ceremonials have been met with, their main features and even nomenclature were patently Kwakiutl; moreover, in a number of instances, the participants were able to point out that certain features were introduced within recent times from sources which ultimately go back to the

¹ Published with the permission of the Smithsonian Institution.

² Franz Boas, "The Kwakiutl Indians," in *Report of U. S. National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), p. 661.

original Kwakiutl source. In other words, while most of the tribes of the North Pacific coast may have had secret societies and attending rituals of their own, they borrowed the main features of the winter ceremonials either directly or indirectly from the Kwakiutl, each tribe adapting and developing them in accordance with the peculiarities of its social organization and with the original elements of its own existing societies.

This process of acculturation is perhaps best shown in the development of the ceremonial societies of the Quileute Indians. It is not within the scope of this paper to treat the Quileute ceremonial societies in their relation to the corresponding Kwakiutl ceremonies. This will be done systematically and extensively in a paper dealing with the general problem of Quileute ethnology. The object of this article is to give a brief description of the main features of the Quileute ceremonial societies and rituals and to call attention to those elements which have not been found in the societies of the other tribes and which must be looked upon as distinctively Quileute in origin.

THE QUILEUTE CEREMONIAL SOCIETIES

The Quileute Indians observed the following rituals,¹ based upon the principle of ceremonial societies:

1. The Tlokwalí or Wolf Ritual (*Lō'kwali*). This society, as the mere name implies, is of Kwakiutl origin, having been introduced among the Quileute within comparatively recent years through their contact with the Makah (Nootka) Indians of Neah Bay. It has the largest membership and constitutes the so-called Warrior Society among the Quileutes.

2. The Tsayeq or Fish Ritual (*ts'ā'yeq*), also of Kwakiutl origin, introduced within recent times through the medium of the Makah Indians.² In point of membership it ranks next to the Tlokwalí and its membership is primarily made up of fishermen and seal-hunters.

¹ The terms "ritual," "ceremonial society," "initiation-ceremony" are so closely interwoven as practically to form synonyms.

² The Kwakiutl term *ts'ēts'āēqa* (singular *ts'ā'ēqa*) means "secrets" and is used to denote "the period of the winter ceremonial" and also the ceremonial itself. See Boas, op. cit., p. 418.

3. The Hunting Ritual of the Hunter Society (*qē' L/a'akwāl* "going up the river") is next in importance. This is the only original Quileute society, and, as will be pointed out later on, served as a model in the adaptation of all other ceremonial societies introduced through the influence of the neighboring tribes. Primarily only hunters could become members of this society.

4. The Ritual of the Whale-Hunters' Society (*sibā'xulāyo'* "singing for the grease") is a whaling ceremonial recently adopted by the Quileute from the Makah Indians. The adoption took place some seventy years ago simultaneously with the introduction of whale-hunting. Only actual whale-hunters were entitled to membership in this society whose list was very small, owing to the fact that a limited number of Quileute Indians practised whale-hunting.

5. The Ritual of the Weather Society (*tcalā'lāyo'* "singing from the south") is a recent introduction from the Quinault Indians. All songs of this society were rendered in the Quinault language, hence the term "singing from the south." Membership was restricted to those who had acquired a guardian-spirit enabling them "to change the weather."

Before proceeding to a detailed description of the rituals connected with each of these societies, it will be well to describe at first those elements (membership, duration, paraphernalia, etc.) that are common to all; deviations from the general scheme, wherever such occur, being pointed out during the description of that particular ceremonial which shows such distinctive features.

All rituals were held during the winter months and took place whenever a new member was initiated into a ceremonial society. Each ceremonial lasted (with the exception of the last one) six days, and one of its most prominent features was the distribution (on the last day) of presents on the part of the family of the novitiate among the other members of the society. This "potlatch" feature has assumed such importance among the Quileute Indians, that one is almost tempted to maintain that the ceremonial societies served the important purpose of facilitating the giving and receiving of presents. The amount of a present to be given to a

particular member was not based upon the social rank of the receiver but was predicated upon the number of ceremonials previously arranged by that person; that is to say, upon the number of members (in accordance with the number of children) which that person (head of the family) had in the society. Thus if a member of a given society had three children who were also members of that society, he received four presents (one for himself and one for each of his three children). Of course, presents received during those ceremonials were returnable either to the giver himself or to his descendants (or family). If the receiver died before he was able to pay this obligation, then his children (family) were charged with the duty of returning the same number of presents or even more gifts of greater value. Because of this potlatch feature, each head of a family, in order to insure future wealth to his children, strove to enroll them in as many societies as was possible—the novitiate in many cases being a mere infant. Membership into any of these societies was open to males and females.

Each society had two types of membership: (1) members whose affiliation was purchased for them by their fathers (or mothers), upon the arranging of a ceremonial, and (2) those who were initiated as members because they had obtained a guardian-spirit for that particular society. No social distinction, however, was made between these two types of membership, at least as far as the quantity or quality of the presents given to them was concerned although a linguistic distinction obtained between them, a guardian member being called *hē'ts/āq*, and a plain member *hēt/aya'slāqa'* "he is sung for." Each member of a society was called *tc/a'a*, "ripe" in contradistinction to the non-members who were called *xwēla'* "raw" and who could not participate in any of the ceremonials except as spectators, and who were not eligible to receive gifts. The initiation ceremonies varied somewhat in accordance with the two types of membership; that is to say, they were different for a *hēt/aya'slāqa'* (plain member) and for a *hē'ts/āq* (a member who had a guardian-spirit). These ceremonies will be described later on.

Each society had its distinct guardian-spirits, and the color applied to the facial painting and the headgear of the participants

(members) differed for each society. Only members who had guardian-spirits were entitled to wear the headgear and to display the ceremonial facial paintings that pertained to their society. The headgear consisted of head-rings made of shredded cedar bark dyed black or brown. These head-rings were different for each society. In the same way, each society had its special facial paintings, every member using a distinct form, in accordance with the instructions given him by his or her guardian-spirit. The drums that were used during the initiation ceremonials consisted, in former days, of cedar chests, square or oblong, and manipulated by the hands and feet of the drummer. More recently these cedar boxes were replaced by circular drums consisting of cedar hoops over which was stretched deer skin fastened to the hoop by means of wooden pegs. The rattles consisted of two pieces of wood hollowed out and filled with small pebbles and fastened together by means of wild cherry bark. The shape and coloring of these rattles varied for each society. Whistles were made of cedar and were similar to those used among the other tribes of this area.

Each initiation ceremony was presided over and in the hands of a set of officials whose position was semi-hereditary, dependent upon the fulfilling of certain obligations. Thus, a son assumed the official position of his father (or uncle) and a daughter that of her mother (or aunt) as soon as he or she gave a feast which was regarded as sufficient to justify the individual in question in assuming the prerogatives of his or her predecessor. Failure to comply with this custom constituted sufficient reason for the tribe to appoint to the vacancy a person outside of the family of the last incumbent. The names of these officials and their functions, in the order of their importance, were as follows:

- I. The Fathers (*hēhē'bilists!* "starters"), two in number, held their office by virtue of having obtained a special guardian-spirit (*taxē'lit*) for it, but subject to the previously mentioned regulations. It was their duty to give all necessary signals during the ceremonial, to start all songs, and to cut up and divide the food among the guests. They sat near the fireplace, facing the door. This office was considered a high honor, but no special privileges were con-

nected with it, except that all the food left over from a ritual became the property of the Fathers.

2. The Firemen (*k!e'iya'q!wāyo* "fire-owners"), also two in number, attended to the fire in the house in which the ceremonial was held. For this service they received some special gifts from the family of the novitiate.

3. The Door-keeper (*tlā'tipāta'q!wāyo* "door-owner") stood guard at the door seeing to it that no outsider entered the house. He closed and opened the door at a signal given him by one of the Fathers. He also was rewarded at the conclusion of the ritual with a special present from the family of the novitiate.

4. The Water-carrier (*k!wā'ya'aq!wāyo* "water-owner") passed drinks to the participants whenever necessary. It was considered a bad breach of etiquette for any member to help himself to water without having first obtained permission from the Water-carrier. Whenever this happened, water was refused to all members until the Water-carrier had been appeased by the offender by some gift. A similar custom prevailed, whenever anyone helped himself to the food or threw a stick of wood into the fire without permission of the Fathers or Firemen. As soon as such an infraction of the rules occurred, the Door-keeper was informed of it and promptly closed the door and kept it shut until the fine was paid to the man against whose office the crime was committed.

5. The Face-painter (*tī'ē'h'ts'ilāl* "painter of faces") painted the faces of the members of the society. This office was always held by a woman. She sat near the entrance, on the left side of the house, and had before her large wooden dishes filled with paints. As each person was about to enter the house, she inquired his particular design, whereupon she proceeded to paint the face in accordance with the instructions given her.

Having discussed those elements of the rituals that are more or less common to all, we shall now proceed to describe the manner in which each ritual was held, beginning with the Tlokwalī; and inasmuch as the initiation ceremony varied in accordance with the two types of membership (see above) we shall first describe the initiation of a young child whose parents arranged for a ceremonial

in order to purchase for their offspring membership in the Tlokwali society.

THE TLOKWALI (WOLF RITUAL)

Before announcing his decision to purchase for his child membership in the Tlokwali Society, the head of the family ascertains first whether enough presents are available. For that purpose he holds a consultation with all members of that family who are related to it by blood. If the father of the intended novitiate does not possess enough wealth, the other members of the family aid him by contributing additional gifts. The next step is to ascertain how many gifts each member of the Tlokwali is entitled to receive. This is done by calling into consultation the chief of the tribe and the heads of the most important families. Upon the completion of this task, two relatives of the prospective novitiate go around the village throwing handfuls of small pebbles on the roofs of the various houses. This serves as a warning to the inmates that a Tlokwali is about to be held and to get themselves ready for it. Upon the return of the two messengers all male members of the family of the prospective novitiate betake themselves, in the evening, to the woods near the village or to the burial grounds, where for about an hour they imitate the cry of the wolf, or that of the horned owl (two of the most important guardian-spirits of the Tlokwali Society).

On the next day two messengers, dressed in their Tlokwali garments and painted accordingly (see below) go from house to house, carrying a rattle and a bundle of sticks, the latter representing the gifts to be received by each participant. The messengers do not sing; they merely shake their rattles. Upon entering each house, they pull out from the bundle a previously indicated number of sticks (each stick represents the value of one gift) and touching the head of the family with them, they whisper, "You are invited by So-and-so to a Tlokwali tonight."

The Tlokwali is always held in a special, commodious structure, belonging to the whole village and known as the Tlokwali-house. In the evening of the same day in which the invitations are made the members begin to assemble. At first only the women and old men appear in the Tlokwali-house. All other members of the

Tlokwalī betake themselves first to the woods where they imitate the cries and actions of the wolf. After a while they proceed to the Tlokwalī-house whistling, crying, and behaving themselves like wolves. Before entering the house, they walk around it shouting, pounding the walls with sticks, and throwing rocks at them. Finally they enter, led by two men who wear wolf masks and the ends of whose blankets are tied in such a way as to represent the tail of the wolf. The others carry salal-bushes on their shoulders and are provided with whistles of various sizes. All crawl in on their hands and feet (also in imitation of the wolf). Before the actual entrance of the "Wolves," those inside the house begin to sing, or rather recite:

Qwayā: tūkwīswāi, qwayā: tūkwīswāi, qwayā: tūkwīswāi, hūūūū.

When the singers reach the word *hūūūū*, the Doorkeeper throws the door open, whereupon the Wolves rush in, shouting, blowing their whistles, and shaking the salal-bushes. They walk to the right until they reach the northeast corner of the house, where they stop. Upon a signal from the Fathers they stop making noises and throw themselves in a pile, one on top of the other. After a few minutes the Fathers again begin the recitation of the previous song which is soon taken up by the whole assembly. This serves as a signal for the Wolves to get up. They arise and rush out of the house in the same manner in which they entered it.

Outdoors the Wolves discard their masks, whistles, and salal-bushes and, dressed in their everyday garments, they dance into the house. Here they seat themselves, wherever they please, regardless of social rank. The women usually sit on one side of the house, while the men occupy the other side. After all are seated, the singing commences. The songs rendered on these occasions are always Tlokwalī songs, that is to say songs which pertain to this ceremonial. These songs may be either inherited or received from the guardian-spirit. The first songs rendered are those by the Fathers; then the first member seated in the southwest corner of the house recites his song; he is followed by the individual sitting next to him, and so on until the last woman in the northwest corner is reached. Very young children and slaves are passed up.

Each song is rendered by two people and is accompanied by the shaking of the ceremonial rattles (held by the singers in their right hands) and by the beating of the drums. The singers usually start the song and are soon joined by the whole assembly. Upon the completion of the song the singers pass the rattles to the next pair, and so on until they come back to the Fathers in whose charge they remain throughout the ceremonial. The drums are the property of the whole tribe and are always kept in the Tlokwalihouse. Those who manipulate them are given small presents by the family of the novitiate. The rattles are made of vine-maple and are shaped like a raven; they are painted black, except the breast, bill, and eyes, which are painted red. The rattles are made and owned by those members who have the raven as their guardian-spirit.

As soon as the singing is over, the Fathers take the novitiate between them and lead him once around the fire, starting from the right and going to the left. As they walk thus, the Fathers shout, whistle, throw up sticks of fire, tear mats,¹ etc., while the other members of the society beat their feet against the floor or benches. Upon arriving at the left side of the house, the procession stops. The Fathers begin a song which is followed by a general dance of short duration. After the dance the child is taken back to its mother. If the novitiate is too young to walk, the mother carries him on her back while she is being led around the house by the Fathers. This ceremony is called *lā'q!alē'l* "going to drive out," and it takes place whenever a novitiate desires to purchase membership in the Tlokwali society. Its apparent purpose is to visualize the prospective member to all other members. After this ceremony is over, the Firemen add more fuel to the fire, whereupon food is distributed among those present. This is done by the Fathers who, should the occasion demand it, may choose some assistants. This ends the ritual for the first night.

On the morning of the second day the messengers invite the people again, without, however, throwing pebbles on the roofs of

¹ These "bad actions" of the Fathers correspond completely to the acts committed by the members of the *nōlemal* (Kwakiutl) or *sā'nēk* (Nootka) societies. See Boas op. cit., p. 468.

the houses. Nor do they take the bundles of sticks along, as is done on the first day. In the evening all members assemble at the Tlokwalí-house. The spectacular entrance of the Wolves is omitted. As the members come in, their faces are painted by the Face-painter. The following are the most prevalent designs: the whole face painted black; the left side black and the right side white, or vice versa; both sides of the face black with a white stripe in the middle, from the center of the forehead to the point of the chin; the upper part of the face black and the lower half red. These four designs are used only by the so-called "spirit-men" (*hē'ts!āq*); that is to say, by those who have a Tlokwalí guardian-spirit. All other members have only black finger-marks on their cheeks. The Face-painter performs the duties of her office on the second and each subsequent night. On the first night each member paints his own face before starting for the ceremonial house.

As soon as the painting ceremony is over, the members seat themselves, whereupon the singing is started by the Fathers. From now on the ceremony takes exactly the same course as on the first night, and is likewise concluded with a general feast. The same rules are observed during the third and fourth nights.

On the fifth night the members, after having undergone the usual painting ceremony, take their accustomed seats. On that night the novitiate is represented by a woman (*tci'ā'vīlāt* "protector of people") chosen and rewarded by the novitiate's family. (The reasons for this substitution will appear later on.) She is seated on a mat placed in the back of the house opposite the door and is accompanied by five or six other women and by the man (or woman) who gave the Tlokwalí. In front of them, at a distance of about fifteen feet, is placed a platter filled with dried black salmon which has been boiled, mashed, and mixed with whale-oil on the same morning. In front of this platter and facing the people on the mat, is seated a powerful medicine-man; he, in turn, is faced by two shamans of lesser prowess who sit behind the platter with their backs turned to the people on the mat and who serve as his assistants during the coming ceremony. This ceremony is called *ālitse'licēl* "going to feed him" and takes place in order to give

the Tlokwali-giver an opportunity to partake of some food. According to custom, the Tlokwali-giver must abstain from any food (*sic!*) for five days. He can eat only after he has tasted of the boiled and dried black salmon.

As soon as everything is ready for the feeding ceremony, the leading shaman begins his magic song in which he extols the prowess of his guardian-spirit. As he sings, the women on the mat register by various motions excessive hunger, while the other members stamp their feet against the floor and benches and make all sorts of noises. Then the shaman, still singing, takes a handful of the food from the platter and shows it to the people. Then he applies his magic power to it, spitting on his hands and rolling the food between his palms until, by a legerdemain trick, the food disappears. Thereupon he throws the (invisible) food to one of his assistants who "catches" it and passes it to the third shaman. This process is repeated several times. At last the first assistant takes the food to one of the women on the mat, puts it into her mouth, and, by motions with his hand, shows how he brings it down to her stomach. As soon as the woman has "swallowed" the food, she faints, whereupon the other occupants of the mat are fed in the same way. Then the shaman stops singing, and the occupants of the mat are covered with a blanket. Thereupon the Fathers make preparations for the *lā'q'alē't* ("going to drive it") ceremony whose sole aim is to wake the women up. The Fathers start a certain song and, as the song progresses, the women are seen to tremble, and gradually they roll over and raise themselves on their hands. Thereupon a man called *k'l'i'ē'lat* ties a rope around the waist of each kneeling woman. The women rise and, led by the *k'l'i'ē'lat*, walk around the fire, shouting, picking up various objects from the ground and throwing them high into the air, while the other members stand up shouting and yelling. The women are led around the fire once. Upon arriving at the starting point, the ropes are taken off them, and all the participants of the *lā'q'alē't* ceremony go back to their seats. Then one of the Fathers intones his hereditary dance song. This is the signal for all members to commence dancing. The dancers hardly leave their places. They

merely raise their feet alternately, stamping them against the ground, and swing their arms up and down. During the dancing every member of the Tlokwali renders his special dance song inherited by him from his father or mother and owned by his family. After the song of the last member has been rendered, the thirsty members drink from the bucket which is carried around by the Water-carrier. After this, food is served, and this concludes the ritual for the fifth night. Before their departure the members are addressed by some very old man thus: "Tomorrow morning all of you must arise early. Bathe, but do not eat! Repair at once to the Tlokwali-house. Those who do not wish actually to participate in the Tlokwali dance will go to the house directly; the others will assemble outside."

On the morning of the sixth and last day the old men, women, and children who do not dance the real Tlokwali dance go directly to the Tlokwali-house where they are painted, as on the previous nights, by the Face-painter. All other members assemble in front of the house, where a large fire has been kindled. Around this fire they dress themselves for the ceremony to come. All preparations must be made around a fire, as otherwise the participants would die. The dancers (*L!ōkʷt!ē'qalē'i* "about to obtain a guardian-spirit from the woods") paint their faces according to the designs owned by them. The entire body is covered with red ochre. On their heads and shoulders they place the appropriate Tlokwali head-bands and shoulder-rings, made of shredded cedar bark. These ornaments are painted either entirely black or red, or partly black and partly red, or not colored at all. The men wear short blankets around their groins, while the women wear skirts made of shredded cedar bark. All wear their hair tied in a knot in front over the forehead. Each dancer sticks into his body pins made of elk- or bear-bone, about eight inches long and a quarter of an inch thick, sharpened at one end and decorated at the other end with human hair or strands of shredded cedar bark. Some use arrows, knives, and seal-harpoons for that purpose. These are stuck into the skin of the back, forearm, calves, and thighs of the legs, or through the upper lip. The knives, arrows, and harpoons are owned

by those who use them; the pins are the guardian-spirits of certain individuals, and must be returned to them at the close of the ceremony.¹ According to information given me, these lacerations were by no means painful and special care was taken that no blood vessel should be pierced. Upon extracting these instruments of torture the wounded spot is merely rubbed and blown upon.

As soon as the dancers have finished their preparations, the Fathers who are inside the house begin to sing. Thereupon the dancers, walking singly, enter the house, imitating the actions of the wolf and whistling, throwing sticks and stones at the guests, and tearing up anything that comes into their hands. All non-dancing members beat their feet against the floor or benches. The house is dark, there is no fire in it, and the skylights are down. As soon as all dancers are inside, the skylights are raised. Then all members of the Tlokwalí begin to dance, singing the dance songs which belong to their families. After all the songs have been exhausted, the fire is kindled, and the Tlokwalí dancers return the pins, etc., to their rightful owners. Preparations are then begun to serve food to the assembled guests. While the food is being cooked, the person who gave the Tlokwalí distributes the presents among the members. The food is then served, and this ends the Tlokwalí ritual in honor of a plain member.

The Tlokwalí ritual for a full member is the same as the corresponding hunting ritual, except that the arrangements of the house, dances, etc., are identical with the arrangements during the initiation of a plain member (as below).

THE HUNTING SOCIETY (HUNTING RITUAL)

This society, as has been stated before, is the only native Quileute ceremonial organization, and its ritual has served as a basis for all other rituals. The members of this society were divided into two categories, those having a guardian-spirit (*qēL/a'ak-*

¹ The self-inflicted tortures of these dancers may be compared to similar acts performed by the *hāwī'nalaL* (Kwakiutl) and *hī'łtaq* (Nootka) dancers. Within more recent years the Quileute dancers were wont to inflict upon themselves the most gruesome lacerations, with the result that the Government stepped in and forbade the holding of the Tlokwalí ceremonial.

wā'tl'ēqa') and plain members (*tc/a'a* "ripe"). Its guardian spirits were: Elk, Night Owl, Horned Owl, White Owl, Deer, Bow, Arrow, Tā'bale (a two-headed dog), etc. The color applied to the rattles, facial painting, etc., of the members of this society was dark brown. Membership was restricted, and, for that reason, the ceremony was held in any common house large enough to accommodate all members.

The duration and type of the initiation ceremony varied in accordance with the manner in which a membership was obtained. The initiation of a plain member, that is to say of one who either purchased membership by merely arranging for the ceremonial and its attendant feasts and gifts or in whose behalf membership was purchased by the family, lasted two days. The initiation of a *qēL/a'akwā'tl'ēqa'*, that is to say, of one who had obtained a *qēL/a'akwāl* guardian-spirit, lasted six days. We shall first describe the ceremonial connected with the initiation of a novitiate who had obtained a guardian-spirit.

As soon as a man (or woman) receives a hunter's guardian-spirit, he becomes sick. A shaman is consulted who, by the color, ascertains the kind of sickness. The color being dark brown, the shaman declares the patient to have been rendered sick by a guardian-spirit of the *qēL/a'akwāl* (the Hunting Society). Thereupon a messenger is sent to all other members of this society inviting them to come to the house of the patient and to lend their assistance in curing him. The members arrive in the evening, wearing the appropriate head-rings, and their faces are painted by the Face-painter. The full members are painted in accordance with the instructions received from their guardian-spirits. Following are the most common designs: the whole face dark brown; the upper part brown and the lower white; the upper half brown with vertical red stripes (the red lines represent showers) and the lower half white; the whole face red (representing blood) with white stripes on both cheeks (these stripes represent showers). Plain members have only dark brown dots painted on their cheeks.

When the members are assembled, the novitiate (*hē'ts!ā:q* "he is sung for") lies on a mat and is covered with blankets. The mat

is placed between two fireplaces in which fires are burning. In ancient times any one could attend to the fire; in more recent years this function became the sole privilege of the Fire-keeper. At the head of the novitiate is placed a wooden or cedar bark representation of his guardian-spirit; while on both sides of him sit two women called *qwa'yē'l* ("cheeks") and chosen because of their powerful guardian-spirits. These women receive substantial presents for their services, and they serve as transmitters between the novitiate and the assembled members. The novitiate, as has been stated before, is sick "from his guardian-spirit"; hence, he can not talk nor sing loud. These two women sitting near him listen to his songs and repeat them in loud tones. In front of the fireplaces is a long bench on which sit all those members of the order who have a guardian-spirit; a similar bench is placed behind the mat of the novitiate, and this is occupied by the female members who have acquired the *qēL/a'akwāl* guardian-spirit; plain members occupy the side benches, and spectators, whenever such are admitted, are seated on benches near the entrance.

As soon as all are seated, the first two male (and full) members of the order, each having a ceremonial rattle in his hand, begin their hunting-song. They are followed by the next pair and so on until all members who own *qēL/a'akwāl* songs have rendered them. Then the female members of the order render their songs, and are followed in turn by the plain members. The two *qwa'yē'l* women, sitting on both sides of the novitiate, sing last. Only one drum is used during this ritual. After all songs have been rendered, preparations are made for the *lā'q'alē'l* ceremony. Its purpose is to "wake up" the novitiate. All full members, male and female, arise, and the first two members (male) at the left end of the bench take up the rattles and repeat their previous song. While they sing, the novitiate begins to tremble and, turning over, lifts his right hand and with his index finger points towards the ceiling, thereby indicating a desire to be "taken up to the mountains" where he had obtained his guardian-spirit.¹ (If the novitiate does

¹ If the novitiate received a guardian-spirit "from the woods or river," he does not point at the "hills" but, supported by the two women, crawls around the fireplace.

not raise his finger, the ceremony which follows is omitted.) After having raised his finger, the novitiate relapses into unconsciousness, and the two women cover him with the blankets.¹ Thereupon the members of the society begin to dance, employing the songs owned by their respective families. The order in which these songs and dances are rendered is the same as during the Tlokwalí (see above). Each member holds in his hand a short stick, about four feet long and painted dark brown (a color obtained by mixing black with red ochre). These canes are used, because the hunters, on their expeditions, always carry sticks. During these dances the actions of hunters and various game animals are imitated. After the dance food is served by the family of the novitiate, and thus ends the ritual for the first night.

On the next day, early in the morning, the young male members of the order come to the house of the novitiate and build a large platform over the mat occupied by the novitiate. In the evening all members assemble, sing, and perform the waking up ceremony, as on the first night. This time the ceremony is successful, for as the singing continues the novitiate turns over on his right side and, attended by the two women, crawls (on his back) around the fire, going from right to left. Upon arriving midway between the two fireplaces, he jumps up on the platform.² He is soon joined by all those members of the order, male and female, who have obtained a guardian-spirit "from the hills."³ This action on the part of these members represents their journey to the hills, the land of their guardian-spirits. They take along a drum, and each member sings his particular ceremonial song. All lie on their backs (except the two *qwa'yé'l* women who attend to the novitiate) with their feet hanging down and gradually move farther up into the platform. Inasmuch as the journey is supposed to be a hard one,

¹ The women stay with him day and night.

² Inasmuch as the novitiate is supposed to be sick, he does not jump of his own volition; he is lifted up by his guardian-spirit.

³ If the novitiate has a guardian-spirit "from the river or woods," this ceremony, which represents the journey of the members to the land of their guardian-spirits, is omitted. The novitiate crawls instead around the fire, increasing each night the distance traversed, while the other members having similar guardian-spirits stand up, shake or swing their arms, and shout.

the distance traveled on this night is not more than about six feet. Every now and then one of the "travelers" will say, "It is hardly foggy enough in the mountains." Thereupon those members who remained below would throw mats, rags, etc., into the fire, causing it to smoke. Occasionally a plain member would shout at the *qwa'yē'l* women, "How are you folks up there?" And the answer would come back, "We are just beginning our homeward journey." Gradually the travelers turn around and, still crawling on their backs, come to the edge of the platform, until their heads touch the same and their hair hangs down. Then they turn around once more and sit up with their feet hanging down. Thereupon they begin to shake their heads to and fro, while those below beat their canes against the floor and shout. Suddenly they slip down and, as each man and woman comes down, those below seize and hold them by their waists. The travelers stretch out their arms, whereupon some of the plain members throw to them dried salmon or large slices of elk and deer meat, which they in turn throw back to the plain members. The meat or salmon not caught on the first throw is permitted to lie on the ground and is removed later on. This ceremony is called *hayā'wakwaxat* ("throwing to one another") and the only explanation given for it was that "the people who have such guardian-spirits play in this manner." Upon its termination the usual songs and dances are rendered. The travelers, still weak and weary from their long journey, participate in the dancing, but are supported by the plain members. After the dancing is over, the travelers are released, and all seat themselves. The food employed in the throwing ceremony is then served, and the ritual for the second night comes to an end.

During the third and fourth nights the ritual follows the same course as on the second night with the exception, however, that on each of these nights the travelers traverse a greater distance and stay away for a longer period.

On the fifth night only a limited number of ceremonial songs are rendered. These are followed by the *ālitsi'dicē'l* ceremony ("giving the food"). The significance and phases of this ceremony are the same as those of a similar ceremony performed during the

Tlokwali and need not be described here (see above, p. 329). After this ceremony is over, the first two (male) full members sitting on the right end of the bench stand up, and while the other members of the order shake, sing, and produce various sounds, the unconscious novitiate and his companions roll over and begin to crawl until they reach a place situated between the two fireplaces. There they are seized by some of the other members, stood up, and held by their waists, while they repeat the throwing ceremony described above (see p. 336). At the end of this ceremony all begin to dance. When the dancing is over, the novitiate sings, in a loud voice, the song given him by his newly acquired guardian-spirit and follows it up with a similar dance, at the conclusion of which the members resume their seats and the novitiate returns to his mat. While food is being prepared for the assembled members, the young girls and boys (children of some members of the order and admitted as spectators) render some dances during which they imitate the actions of a stalked elk. Some of the dancers dance in an erect position, others stoop down, while still others dance on their knees. Occasionally, an aged spectator will join the dancing "elks," acting as if he were hunting them. This aged man (or woman) usually belongs to what might be called "the begging fraternity" and he uses this dance as an opportunity for begging. He will point at some rich man or woman, while dancing, and the individuals thus selected reward him with a small gift. As soon as the food is ready, it is served. After having partaken of the food the members go home, but before they depart they are invited by some old man to assemble on the next morning. The invitation is usually couched in the following words: "Arise ye early in the morning. We will emerge from the woods."

On the morning of the sixth day the platform and the bench in front of the two fireplaces (on which the male full members of the order have been sitting) are removed. Outside the house a big fire is built around which assemble all full (but young) members and dress themselves for the coming ceremonial dance. The old men, women, and plain members go directly into the house. The full members put on the head-rings of the order, and paint their

faces according to the respective designs owned by them. Upon a signal from the leaders (the Fathers) they enter the house crawling on their knees and acting like elks. Inside, they stand up and dance their ceremonial dances. While dancing they lock their arms and extend the same, thereby denoting that they are looking for food. Thereupon the plain members throw to them salmon, salmon-eggs, berries, bags of oil, etc. This food is thrown back to the owners. After this throwing ceremony some more dances are executed. Then all members go to their seats, and the young boys and girls perform again the dance of the elks. During this performance the presents given away by the novitiate are distributed, after which food is served. This concludes the ritual of the *qē'l/a'akwāl* or Hunting Society.

In the evening of the same day the novitiate and the two *qwa'yē'l* women visit the houses of the several members and beg for food. This food is given away at a feast held the next day. If the feast does not take place, the food is divided among the several members of the order. No explanation for this custom could be obtained; it is probable, however, that it represents the appreciation by the individual members of the food eaten at the expense of the novitiate.

Originally the Hunting Society did not have any distinct officers. But with the introduction of the Tlokwalī similar officials were instituted during the Hunting ritual. Thus, the Hunting Society came to have, in addition to the Face-painter, two Fathers, a Fire-keeper, and a Water-carrier.

A special degree of relationship seems to have existed between the members of the Hunting Society and those of the Whaling Society (see below). Thus, all whaling men were invited to and participated in the Hunting ritual, and vice versa. The two ceremonials were closely related, and the members of these two societies applied to one another the reciprocal term *kēli'q!wāyi'ts'ilāt* "staying on one side of the mountain." This close affiliation between the two societies may, perhaps, be due to the fact that, according to a general belief, the guardian-spirits of these societies dwell in close proximity. The guardians of the Hunting Society live on the eastern slopes of the mountains while those of the

Whaling Society dwell on the western slopes. Furthermore, these guardian-spirits can understand one another perfectly well. Consequently the whaling men, participating in a Hunting ritual, are assigned to special seats and, during every throwing ceremony, they first throw the food to the novitiate and his associates. In return the whaling members invite the hunters to their ritual, and the latter perform the same functions. The songs rendered by these, as it were, *ex-officio* members are those of their own fraternity.

The initiation of a new member (child or wife) through purchase lasts only two or three days, according to the amount of food at the disposal of the prospective novitiate's parents (or husband). On the evening of the day set for the initiation ceremony the members of the society appear at the designated house and are painted by the Face-painter. They sing and dance in the usual fashion and leave right after the food has been served. The same performance takes place on the second night. On the third morning they assemble at a different house. After painting their faces and putting on the proper headgear they dance into the house of the novitiate. Upon the completion of the dance, presents and food are distributed among them by the parents or husband of the novitiate, and this completes the ritual.

In very recent years the members of the Hunting Society who danced into the house of the novitiate carried bags of peanuts which they threw all over the floor. These peanuts represented the excrement of the elk and were picked up and eaten by those members who did not participate in the dance.

THE TSAYEQ (FISHING RITUAL)

Membership in this society, as in the two previous orders, could be obtained either by acquiring a special guardian-spirit or through purchase. A person acquiring such a guardian-spirit became a good fisherman, seal-hunter, canoe-maker, and (in the case of a woman) basket-maker. Hence membership was confined to such persons as followed these occupations. The most important guardian-spirits of the Tsayeq were the Seal, Spear, Canoe, Land-Otter, Salmon, Kingfisher, and Sawbill. The color of this order

was red. The rattles used during the Tsayeq ceremonial were made of vine-maple and were painted red or red with white stripes. These rattles were of a special shape. The drums were the same as those used during the other ceremonials. Special head-rings, made of shredded cedar bark and dyed red, were worn only by members who had acquired a guardian-spirit. Such members displayed facial paintings of distinct designs suggested to them by their guardian-spirits. Three such designs were described to me as follows: the lower part of the face red with three perpendicular stripes on each cheek (representing three men in a canoe); the same design but with only one perpendicular stripe on each cheek; the whole face red with a wide white stripe in the center. Common members painted red dots or stripes on their cheeks. Originally only two Fathers and a Face-painter had charge of this ritual, but in recent years the offices of Firemen and Water-carrier were added. We shall describe first the initiation ritual of a new member who had received a guardian-spirit belonging to the Tsayeq Society.

As soon as the guardian-spirit enters the body of the prospective member he becomes sick. A shaman is called in who, noticing the color of the sickness to be red, declares the patient to be sick "from a Tsayeq guardian-spirit." The patient imparts this information to his relatives who decide, on the same night, to initiate him into this society.¹

Messengers are sent to all members of the Tsayeq Society with instructions to assemble the next day in the house of the novitiate. They come, and their faces are painted by the Face-painter who holds this office only during the Tsayeq ritual. After all are seated the members, led by the two Fathers, begin to sing their Tsayeq songs. Then the Fathers begin to wake up the novitiate who, as during all other rituals, lies on a mat and is attended by two *qwa'yē'l* ("cheeks") women. As the Fathers walk up to the novitiate, they sing and dance. The other members are standing and swing their hands (with the palms open) from right to left, repeating the words *hōo'c hōo'c hōo'c* after each verse. A stick is

¹ Swan, who witnessed this ceremonial, was misled as to its character. He calls it a strictly healing ceremonial. See James G. Swan, *Indians of Cape Flattery*, *Smiths. Contr. to Knowl.*, vol. XVI, p. 73.

placed in the ground on the right side of the novitiate. This stick is supposed to have been put there by the guardian-spirit. As the song of the Fathers progresses, the novitiate moves and, crawling on his back, he goes a little way to the right. Soon he rises and, supported by one of the *qwa'yē't* women, he dances, swinging his open palms from right to left and singing in a low voice the song given him by his guardian-spirit. This song is repeated in loud tones by the *qwa'yē't* women, who assist the novitiate (*hē'ts!ā:q*) back to his mat. The ritual for this night is concluded with a general feast.

The ritual follows the same course on the second, third and fourth nights, excepting only that, during each night, the novitiate traverses a greater distance in crawling on his back around the fireplace.

On the fifth night the novitiate sits up and is ready to receive some food. The members enter as on the previous nights and are painted by the Face-painter. A platter of boiled black salmon is placed in the middle of the room, and in front of this platter, facing the novitiate, sits some exceptionally powerful shaman. Behind the platter are seated two other shamans of lesser prowess. Then the feeding-ceremony takes place which is identical with the similar ceremony during the Hunting ritual (see p. 329). The novitiate is joined by four or five other members who have guardian-spirits, and they are also fed. Upon receiving the food, they become unconscious and are "awakened" by the Fathers. While the Fathers sing, the novitiate and his companions arise and crawl clear around the fire. After they have returned to their starting point the novitiate reveals to his fellow-members the dance and song given him by his guardian-spirit, whereupon he goes back to his mat. Inasmuch as the novitiate has not yet regained his full strength he begins to sing a song called *walā'aḡwalā's* "pounding with the stick." While rendering this song, he puts his hand on the stick, which had been placed in the ground on the very first night by his guardian-spirit. Contact with this cane gradually gives him back his former strength. After the song is over, food is served, and the members leave the house. They are, however, invited by some old man to appear early on the next morning.

In the morning the full members and those that want to join them appear in front of the house and there, standing around a big fire, they paint their faces and put on the proper head-rings. The other members and the old men and children go directly into the house. The dancers, headed by the Fathers, enter the house, crawling on their knees and shaking their heads back and forth. No songs are sung; only yells are given forth, while those on the inside pound the floor with their sticks. As the dancers enter, the room is dark. After all are in the skylights are raised. Then all members begin to sing and dance, swinging their hands from right to left. At the end of each verse the women shout "*hōo'c hōo'c, hōo'c.*" After all dances have been rendered, the presents are distributed, food is served, and the ritual comes to an end.

The ritual arranged in order to purchase membership for a child or wife lasts only two days. The members appear as on the other occasion, and the ceremony consists mainly of songs and dances rendered by the individual members. Each day, upon the completion of the songs and dances, the novitiate (*hēt!aya'slāqa'* "he is sung for") led by a woman (*tci'ā'tilāt* "protector of people") walks once around the fireplace, in order that the members may look upon him and come to know him. No presents are given during the shorter ritual.

THE WHALE-HUNTER SOCIETY (WHALING RITUAL)

This society was introduced among the Quileutes by the Makah Indians, and its ritual was modeled wholly after the native Hunting ceremonial with which it shares in common special features (see above, p. 332). The color of this society is the same as that of the Hunting order, but somewhat darker, and the full members of the Hunting Society were always present at the ceremonial of this order, and vice versa. This may have been due to the fact that the two orders had fewer members than any of the other societies, although the reason given by the Indians is quite different. Membership into this society was open only to those who had acquired a guardian-spirit, and could not be purchased as was the case in the other ceremonial societies. The reason for this exclusiveness given

to me was "that young children and women could not be expected to be good whale-hunters." Furthermore, this society was considered the best of all, and its members had a special standing in the social life of the Quileutes. Only whale-hunters could belong to it. Its special guardian-spirits were the Whale, a rope made of sinews, any of the whale-hunting implements, etc. The ritual lasted five nights, and only two Fathers and the Face-painter officiated. The drum used during the ritual was the same as that employed on all other occasions, but the rattles, two in number, had a distinct shape and were colored dark brown. The members wore special head-rings, made of shredded cedar bark and colored dark brown. The same color was applied to the facial paintings, and the following designs obtained most frequently: the whole face painted dark brown; the same but with white dots (this design belonged to such members as had a certain mythical being for their guardian-spirit); the same but with three slanting white stripes on either cheek; dark brown heavy circles around the eyes.

Inasmuch as this society had but few members, the arrangement of the house during an initiation ceremony was somewhat different. To begin with, there was only one fireplace. The benches were built clear against the walls, the members of the Whale-Hunter Society occupying those on the left side of the house and half of the benches in the back of the house. Members of the Hunting Society occupied the other half of the benches placed at the back part of the house. The benches to the right were reserved for such spectators as were admitted to witness the initiation ceremony.

As soon as the shaman ascertains that the proposed novice is sick "from a guardian-spirit belonging to the Whale-Hunter Society," messengers are sent to all members inviting them to participate in the initiation ritual. The novice lies on a mat placed in the corner of the house and is attended by two *qwa'yél* women. Behind the mat two posts are driven into the ground and over these is stretched a piece of rope, made of twisted and braided cedar limbs. This rope is used only in cases where the novice has obtained a rope for his guardian-spirit. As soon as the members

have been painted by the Face-painter, the invited members of the Hunting Society place in the middle of the room a dish full of whale-oil. Thereupon each member of the Whale-Hunter Society steps forth and, scooping up some of the oil in the palms of his hands, he either drinks it or rubs it over his face. This oil represents the water of the whaling guardian-spirit. This ceremony over, all sit down, whereupon the Fathers intone their family songs pertaining to this ceremonial. Each member renders his own song; the Hunting members sing the songs of their own society. After all songs have been rendered, the novitiate is "awakened," in exactly the same manner as is done during the Hunting ritual (see above, p. 334). As soon as he "wakes up," that is to say, as soon as he turns over and sits up, two members of the society lift him up on the rope. Seated there he spreads out his arms, thus expressing hunger. Thereupon one of the members of the Hunting Society throws to him some dried fish, meat, or a bag containing oil. The novitiate catches it and throws it back. This throwing ceremony is repeated several times and is followed by general dancing, during which the Whale-Hunters render the dancing songs of their order, while the Hunters employ the songs that pertain to their own ceremonial. The Whale-Hunters render their songs first, and these are followed by the songs and dances of the Hunting Society. When the dancing is over, the novitiate is helped down from the rope, whereupon he sings, in a weak voice, the song of his guardian-spirit. This song is repeated, in louder tones, by the two Cheek-women. At the conclusion of the song the members sit down and are served with food.

If the guardian-spirit of the novitiate is not a rope, the waking up ceremony varies somewhat. The novitiate is awakened and crawls sideways around the fire. Arriving at the starting point, he is made to stand up by some of the members and renders his song. The throwing ceremony is omitted. The sideways crawling represents the swimming of the whale.

The ceremony varies but little on the second, third, and fourth nights. On each of these nights the novitiate moves farther from one end of the rope to the other (in case his guardian-spirit is a rope) or else crawls more times around the fireplace.

On the fifth night the novitiate sits up and is joined by three or four other members of the society. First the feeding ceremony (see p. 329) takes place. After the novitiate and his associates become unconscious the Fathers wake them up in the same way as is done during the Hunting ceremonial. The novitiate and his associates arise and, on their sides, slide around the fireplace. Then they stand up and are supported by some other members of the order, while the remaining participants in the ceremonial wash their faces in or drink the oil placed in the oil dish by the members of the Hunting Society. After the last man has washed his face, the throwing ceremony takes place. During this ceremony the members of the Hunting Society throw dried salmon, meat, or bags of oil to the members of the Whale-Hunting order. At the conclusion of this ceremony the novitiate sings his song and demonstrates the dance given him by his newly acquired guardian-spirit. The guests are served with food and are asked, prior to their departure, to appear again early in the morning.

In the morning they assemble around a big fire, built outside of the house, and around this fire they paint their faces and put on their proper head-rings. The spectators and the members of the Hunting Society do not assemble around the outside fire, but go directly into the house which at first is darkened. The novitiate on this day joins his fellow members outside the house. Led by the two Fathers the novitiate and his fellow members enter the house, imitating the motion of the whale. This is accomplished by stooping down and raising the hands above the head and lowering them. All walk in sideways. As soon as the last man is inside the skylights are raised and the members of the Hunting Society pour some oil into a dish which is used by the members of the Whale-Hunter order either to wash their faces or for drinking purposes. This is followed by the throwing ceremony which, in turn, is followed by general dancing. The dancers jump up and down singing the following refrain: "When I go out to sea, my mouth opens and shuts." At the conclusion of the dancing, the members sit down and presents are set aside for them by the family of the novitiate. The ritual is concluded with a feast.

THE WEATHER SOCIETY

This society is of Quinault origin. The initiation ceremony, although based upon the ceremonial of the native Hunting Society, shows certain important and distinct features. It lasts five nights as do all other ceremonials. To become a member of this society one has to receive a weather guardian-spirit. Such a spirit enables its owner to change the weather and to bring a dead whale ashore. Non-initiates can be present at the ceremonial merely as spectators. The color of the society is light brown (tan), and the head-rings used by the members during the ceremonial are dyed in this color. The same color is applied to the facial painting which, however, does not show such a multiplicity of designs as obtains in other ceremonials. The faces are painted wholly brown or merely with brown dots or stripes. The only official of this ceremonial is the Face-painter. No rattles are used to accompany the songs and dances.

As soon as the shaman ascertains, by means of the color, that the patient is sick "from a guardian-spirit belonging to the Weather Society," the members of this society are invited to the house of the patient who becomes a novitiate. They file in singly and are painted by the Face-painter. The novitiate sits on a mat spread somewhere on the floor, while the members seat themselves on the benches. After all are seated the novitiate (*tcālā'lāyō'ts!īt* "maker of the *tcālā'lāyō'*") renders the songs which he obtained from the newly acquired guardian-spirit. In turn the other members render their songs, following them up with the dances of this order. This concludes the ceremonial for the first night. No food is served.

On the second night each member brings some food for the guardian-spirit of the novitiate. This food is placed in some corner of the house, and each succeeding night more is added to it. After depositing the food, the members take their seats and go through the same ceremonies as on the first night.

The same ceremonies are repeated on the third, fourth, and fifth nights. On the morning of the sixth day the members and the novitiate go first to a different house where they put on the

appropriate head-rings and paint their faces. Then, led by the novitiate, they repair to the house where the ceremonial took place during the preceding nights. They file in singly, singing and dancing. The songs rendered during this ceremonial are meaningless, as far as the Quileutes are concerned. The words are Quinault, having been taken over with the main features of the society. Each member sings the song of his family. At the conclusion of the last song all sit down, and the novitiate distributes the gifts set aside for this occasion. Thereupon the food which was brought by the individual members on the previous nights as an offering to the guardian-spirit is served, and thus ends the ceremonial of the Weather Society.

CONCLUSION

The above descriptions of the main features of the Quileute ceremonial societies, while only sketchy, are sufficiently clear to give us a bird's-eye view of the several elements which enter into the composition of these societies. As has been stated in the introductory chapter, the internal evidence, the linguistic nomenclature, and other factors point strongly to the fact that, of the five Quileute ceremonial societies, four have been adopted from adjacent tribes (three from the Makah, one from the Quinault) and only one (the Hunting Society) is of native origin. On the other hand, the rituals of these societies, while adhering closely in the main to the corresponding rituals of the borrowed orders (as is particularly the case in the Wolf, Fishing, and Whaling rituals), have been made to agree, in their more detailed aspects, with the original ritual of the native society. The introduction among the Quileute Indians of the non-native societies has taken place within comparatively recent years and may have been due to one of the following three factors: the importation of slaves in large numbers from the north and south, the frequent intermarriages which took place between the Quileute, Makah, and Quinault Indians, or the frequent friendly visits which these three tribes interchanged from time to time.

The Tlokwalí and Tsayeq Societies are undoubtedly of Kwakiutl origin, but their rituals, as practised by the Quileutes, show vast divergences, which are due to the fact that they have been intro-

duced, not directly from the Kwakiutl, but through the medium of the Nootka, particularly the Makah Indians. A detailed investigation of the Makah societies and their rituals will bear testimony to this fact. Pending such an investigation the original, native features of the Quileute ceremonial societies will have to remain a matter of speculation.

However, certain features are so unique as to justify us in the assumption that they represent native, and not borrowed, elements. The most important of these is what may be properly termed the professional element, a feature which, thus far, finds a parallel to some extent in the esoteric fraternities of the Zuñi Indians.¹ Each Quileute society is a professional organization; that is to say only persons following the same occupation could belong to it, and each order is, so to speak, representative of one of the four most important occupations followed by the Quileute Indians. Thus the *qēL/a'ak-wāl* is the society for hunters, the *sibā'xulāyo'* for whale-hunters, the *ts!ā'yeq* for fishermen, and the *Lō'kwali* for warriors. The *tcalā'lāyo'*, the Weather Society, is the latest introduction and may have received its occupational mark through the enormous influence wielded by the medicine men, of which we shall speak later. It goes without saying that these societies were introduced not at once but singly, and that each soon after, or perhaps simultaneously with, its adaptation became the order of persons following a certain occupation. We have the testimony of the informants themselves for the order in which these societies were introduced among the Quileute Indians. They are conscious of the fact that the *sibā'xulāyo'* was the first of the non-native societies to be introduced; next came the *Lō'kwali* and *ts!ā'yeq*; and these were followed in turn by the *tcalā'lāyo'*. The Hunting Society (*qēL/a'akwāl*) was in existence among the Quileute Indians from times immemorial and to this society only those who were habitual hunters could belong. The Whaling ritual, as it was practised by the Makah, was a ritual exclusively for whale-hunters; and the Quileutes merely followed an established precedent as well as the spirit of the borrowed society

¹ M. C. Stevenson, "The Zuni Indians," *Twenty-third Ann. Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, pp. 407 ff.

when, upon its introduction, they reserved it for whale-hunters and their families. Later on, when the *Lō'kwali* and *ts/ā'yeq* were introduced, the first became the society for warriors, and the second the order of fishermen and (after the Quileutes took to seal-hunting) seal-hunters. The assignment of "weather-persons" to the *tcalā'-lāyo'* may have been due to the fact that among a littoral people like the Quileute Indians special respect was paid to persons who claimed to possess tamanos power over the weather. This distinction may also be due to an inherent feature in the original Quinault society which, however, for lack of data from that tribe, we are at the present unable to determine. The gradual breaking down of the native mode of living resulted in a gradual wiping out of the distinct professional character of some of these societies, as can be seen by the fact that in later times canoe-makers, basket-makers, and others were also included in the *ts/ā'yeq*. However, the two oldest orders (the Hunting and Whale-hunting Societies) always kept their distinctive professional features even to within very recent times; and all present living members of these two extinct societies were either actual hunters or whale-hunters. Furthermore, the professional emphasis laid upon these two societies was responsible for the special feeling of fraternization which existed between its respective members (see p. 342). It is also highly probable that originally only the male members of the tribe could belong to any of these societies and that the privilege of enrolling the female relatives of a male member also was granted only gradually and more as a matter of courtesy. This privilege was in the course of time extended until, aided by a desire to insure as much wealth to the future generations as possible, it became universal. However, the two eldest societies kept on granting full membership only to the male members of the tribe.

Another important feature of the Quileute ceremonial societies is the manner of initiating a full member, that is to say of one who had received a special guardian-spirit presiding over a particular order. It will be remembered that the whole initiation ritual revolves around the curing by his fellow-members of the novitiate who had been rendered sick through the entrance of the guardian-

spirit into his body. Of course, this is not to be taken literally, for the "patient" was at no time actually sick. What the Quileute meant to express by this term was probably the unconscious condition of the novitiate who had partaken of the powers of his guardian-spirit, a condition which disappeared as soon as, through the exorcisms of the shaman and of the fellow-members of the order, the novitiate arrived at an understanding of the qualities of the guardian-spirit. The mystery surrounding the quality and powers of the guardian-spirit was particularly dispelled by the disclosures, on the part of the shaman, of the "color" of that spirit; in other words the novitiate began to feel more at ease by learning the type of his particular guardian-spirit, while the continued incantations of his fellow-members rendered him more normal. This healing phase of the ceremonial is described distinctly by Swan as existing among the Makah Indians.¹ However, this need not be taken as an indication that eventually this Quileute feature goes back to a Makah origin. The belief in shamanistic powers was exceedingly strongly developed among the Quileute Indians, and the shaman exercised an enormous influence over their daily and ceremonial life. Consequently, it seems highly plausible that this healing phase constituted one of the main features of the original Quileute society and that, fostered by the shamans, it became a similarly important feature in the other, introduced secret societies.

The third important point suggesting itself in connection with the ceremonial societies of the Quileute Indians is the probable determination of the ultimate geographic distribution of this tribe. At the present time the Quileute Indians occupy a small strip of the northwestern coast of Washington where they were found one hundred years ago, while their only other cognates, the Chimakum Indians, were found in a much farther northeastern direction, on Puget Sound, in Snohomish County. Quileute mythology is particularly silent on the question of the original home of these two tribes. It does, however, speak of the separation of the two tribes as the result of a great flood. The myth recounting this event is as follows:

¹ James G. Swan, *op. cit.*, loc. cit.

In early times the Quileute and Chimakum lived together. During the great flood the people took to their canoes, floating in them until they reached the crests of the Olympic Mountains. Here they tied them to trees and rocks. One night a great storm arose, and many of the canoes tore loose from their moorings. These canoes drifted in a northeastern direction until they reached the present site of the towns of Chimakum and Port Ludlow. Here the people abandoned their canoes and settled down, becoming in the course of time the Chimakum tribe. The people whose canoes were not loosened remained on the Olympic Mountains until the flood subsided. The receding waters carried them and the canoes towards the shores of the Pacific Ocean. They finally stopped at Quileute Prairie¹ and became known as the Quileute (and Hoh) Indians.²

Inasmuch as this myth has little historical probability, the original location of the Quileute tribe must be looked for at a point eastward of their present possessions; in other words, the Quileute Indians must have lived originally farther inland. And a clue that this may have been the case is furnished by the importance and antiquity of the Hunting Society of this tribe. Such a society with its attending ritual could have developed only among a group of people whose main occupation was hunting and whose chief supplies of food were obtained through this mode of living. The probability of this theory is further substantiated by the fact that the Quileute language contains a great number of different verbal stems expressing the various forms of the act of hunting. Now, the only regions in this particular neighborhood abounding in game of all descriptions lie much farther east of the present site of the Quileute reservation, which is practically on the western slopes of the Olympic Range. To this

¹ A prairie about forty-five miles south of Cape Flattery and six miles eastward from the present Quileute reservation.

² It is interesting to note that the Makah Indians account in the same way for their separation from the main body of the Nootka tribes. Furthermore, the same phonetic elements differentiating the Nootka from the Makah dialect ($b > m$; $d > n$) differentiate also the speech of the Quileute from that of the Chimakum, two features which, in addition to many other lexical, morphological, and structural correspondences go a long way toward encouraging us in the assumption of an ultimate genetic relationship between Wakashan, Chimakuan, (and Salish).

range the Indians repair even now for the purpose of hunting, and it is here that we must look for the original home of the Quileute tribe. Furthermore, that the Quileute Indians have only within comparatively recent times become fishermen par excellence is demonstrated beyond doubt by the following three facts: First, in ancient times these Indians knew nothing of their present intricate system of hereditary fishing-grounds, this institution having been introduced after their arrival at the mouth of the Quileute River; secondly, traces of old Indian settlements, and even potlatch-houses, have been found as many as twenty miles farther to the east and the Quileutes still remember the native names of these villages; thirdly, the names of the most important sea-fish are not of native origin, having seemingly been borrowed from the Quinault (Salish) language. Of course, it is also quite probable that the original Hunting ritual may have been a general tribal ceremonial, with the identical aspects and in the same sense as, for example, are the tribal rituals among the Creek, Osage, and Omaha Indians. However, the above mentioned three facts militate strongly against this, and we may be justified in the assumption that (1) the Quileute Indians were an inland people, (2) their chief occupation originally was hunting, and (3) their social and ceremonial life was greatly modified by this occupation.

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